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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
ADMINISTRATIONS
IN THE
GOVERNMENT
OF
AMERICA.

A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
ADMINISTRATIONS
IN THE
GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA,
UNDER THE
Former Presidents,
The late General WASHINGTON,
AND
JOHN ADAMS;
AND OF THE
PRESENT ADMINISTRATION,
UNDER
THOMAS JEFFERSON:
WITH CURSORY
OBSERVATIONS

On the present State of
The Revenue, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures,
and Population of the
THE UNITED STATES.

BY *GEORGE HENDERSON*, Esq.

Quare agite, et primo laeti cum lumine, solis,
Quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
Vestigemus, et a portu diversa petamus. VIRG.

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1802.

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TO

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR,

OF

ULBSTER,

Baronet:

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS

OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

London,
April, 12, 1802.

THE AUTHOR.

APOLOGY is the usual, and not unfrequently, the affected excuse for imbecility; but the sincerity in which it is offered for the imperfections that will too conspicuously discover themselves in the succeeding endeavour, may possibly obtain a share of that indulgence they so peculiarly demand: and though it should be found not sufficiently forcible to turn the shaft of criticism altogether, at least to mitigate some degree of it's severity.

The few materials from which the following sketches have been drawn, were collected in the country to which their subject is confined; and procured from sources, were it of sufficient consequence particularly to speak, that it is believed could not lessen the slight information they aim to convey. In able hands they might have been formed into more perfect shape.

shape. Yet, perhaps, after all, this preface, which resembles all others, and is little else than the supplication of a sinner for the remission of his errors, might have been omitted, and the disinterested language, once used by a very great man, though in a much higher venture on the ocean of letters, more appositely substituted in its place. “Je ne demande point de protection pour ce livre: on le lira s’il est bon: et s’il est mauvais je ne me soucie pas qu’on le lise.” *Lettres Persanes*, tom. i.

SHORT VIEW
OF THE
ADMINISTRATIONS
IN THE
GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA.

THE revolution which terminated in the independence of the United States of America, perhaps effected as great and important a change in human events, as any the page of history has recorded, or that has yet arrested the attention of mankind. Since this short period, the rapid increase of the population; the wide extension of the commerce; and the progressive advancement which has characterized many of them in their agricultural and domestic pursuits, have greatly contributed to occasion a very general and ardent spirit of inquiry into the various causes that have promoted or influenced such conspicuous
B advantages,

advantages, and forcibly calculated to render every degree of information connected with their several establishments, highly interesting to the European world.

From the commencement of the recent convulsions which have agitated this last quarter, an increased ardour has shewn itself for becoming minutely acquainted with the actual posture of the American States; an interest that will be always awakened, and will be felt with added energy, should no event arise to interrupt the prosperity or destroy the harmony of the one, whenever it may be the fate of the other to be again plunged into similar disasters.

Extensive, however, as this desire may be, I believe it may be pronounced at the same instant, that none hitherto has been less substantially gratified: and that what has been obtained relative to them, remains still of a very imperfect and limited nature. They have been but partially travelled; and those persons who have visited them, best qualified to point out their local and political advantages, have, with so few exceptions, given their
 opinions

opinions to the world under the shackles of prejudice, as to destroy very materially the end and usefulness of their labour. This has polluted many of the otherwise best sources of intelligence; and is an evil, that has rendered no inconsiderable part of what has been derived through channels of American communication, not less exceptionable.

To the philosopher, and to the statesman, the political institutions of America, open a spacious and abundant field for the exercise of their research and investigation. But to those, whose views may be directed towards an establishment in the United States, a knowledge of every thing belonging to them becomes more strongly and more immediately desirable. With the design of being in some degree useful to the latter description of persons, a number that within these few years has so greatly augmented, an idea was suggested, that what I have been able to collect on so popular a subject, might not be found without some share of interest or utility, as the object to which the following attempt solely aspires, cannot be deemed slight or unworthy

worthy of regard when so much of human happiness inseparably depends on it.

The government of the United States of America, which has excited so much attention, and that has been so often proposed as being worthy the imitation of other nations, is advanced by its admirers, as a model as closely approaching perfection, as in the nature of things so perplexed and intricate a machine like that of government is susceptible of attaining. It cannot be withheld, that there is something greatly to be admired in the ease and simplicity with which the movements of this rising republic have been hitherto conducted: and no small portion of applause may without injustice be extended towards those, by whose wisdom or whose agency, the present elevated situation of this country has been attained.

As yet, any thing materially defective has not arisen to impede the progress of this great design. But whether a body composed of members so weak and so vaguely put together, may be found possessing sufficient strength to withstand the storms and shocks to which all governments,

ments and states are liable to be opposed, becomes a question, on which, perhaps, its most sanguine eulogists would reluctantly pronounce. A want of a due portion of energy in the direction of the executive functions of the American government, it is believed will be discovered to be its most defective and vulnerable side.

Impressed with something of this kind, to strengthen and invigorate the federal compact, or general government, by rendering it as little dependent on the will or control of the separate States as should be found consistent with the principles and views contemplated at the first forming of the constitution of the United States, was the line of conduct followed by the late General WASHINGTON, and continued by his successor in the administration, the late president, Mr. *Adams*. By those of different political sentiments, this has been determined dangerous to liberty, and as threatening to assume too extensive an influence over the respective States. It has also been represented as approaching with rapid steps towards an *oligarchy*, or what to the majority in America, would be infinitely more obnoxious, a monarchy. In being
anxious

anxious to escape *Scylla*, it will be fortunate for the American States, if they do not strike on *Charybdis*, and find themselves under a worse than either, the most inordinate and oppressive of all—a *democracy*;

That worst of tyrants, an usurping croud.

Some indeed, of the fellow citizens of the gentleman I have last named, during his administration, went so far as to declare, that he had indulged the idea of rearing himself to an actual throne. Rather attributing this to the fertility of invention, or to the subserviency of political design, than believing in any such improbable and extravagant intention in Mr. *Adams*, we may yet trace from the industrious propagation of this and of opinions equally absurd, some of the footsteps that have led to an entire change of men and measures in this country.

And without attempting to determine what particular description or form of government is best calculated to rule over and to direct a great and growing mass of people, dispersed over a space of territory, vast as that comprehending the United States,
some

some time may still be required to discover whether the republican form, constituted on principles as pure and undisguised as those of America, and inclining so much towards the *popular* or *democratic* cast, will prove such as shall be productive of so desirable an end.

If the people of America do not descend into an absolute and corrupt state of this, it will be happy for them; but whoever is in any degree acquainted with the general disposition which appears to govern them, will in all likelihood consider that they have more to apprehend from a state of *extreme equality*, than they have to dread from any sudden or inordinate share of power being exerted over them by their magistrates or their laws*.

Were men in most instances fitted for government little of force or intricacy would

* On most occasions, important or unimportant, relative to any public business in the United States, conventions of the people are summoned. At such meetings, in many instances have been assumed, what may be almost termed *extra-legislative*, and *extra-judicial* functions; recommending or reproving more in terms of a dictatorial

would be required in any species of it to control or to regulate their actions. This, however, is now acknowledged to be *Utopian*; and with the views and passions which influence and distract the greater part of our fellow beings of this age, something stronger than the most persuasive reasoning, more coercive than the most florid argument, is too often needed to remind them of the relationship they bear to society, and of the obligation they are under to law and constituted authority. That state is happiest which is farthest removed from extremes; and when I present myself an advocate for law and social order, I trust to escape being considered an enemy to freedom. I am well assured, I shall at least, by all who are sensible of the

tatorial spirit than what can be considered as being entirely consonant to such situations. This has been pointed out amongst the evils of a republic; and it may be thought that the freedom of that of America has something to dread from it. It is in the investigation, however, of every thing that is transacting, and the uncontrollable licence with which opinion is passed respecting it, that the citizen of these States considers as the being and essence of his rights—the *Magna Charta* of his liberties.

inti-

intimate and inseparable connection that must subsist between them.

To preserve a government organized like that of America entire, and to ensure it any thing like long continuance, must certainly very closely depend on the perfect state of equanimity that may collectively prevail throughout the several members which compose it. On this, and on this alone, the existence or dissolution of these present Independent States will be found altogether to rely. If ever the above should be forgotten, or be departed from, then will the moment arrive when the safety of the whole fabric will be endangered, and this admired edifice totter to its base. Whenever separate and opposite interests shall arise, and those shall come to be asserted and upheld by the uncontrollable force of unequal popular strength, then will the period happen, that will prove the vigour or discover the weakness, of this boasted excellence. With views so dissimilar, and guided as many of the American States are individually, by pursuits so contrary and opposite to the spirit of the majority of them, there are numbers who do not hesitate in pronouncing, that

that already something of this nature is beginning to develope itself. Indeed, it cannot be denied, that an extraordinary difference of sentiment prevails, and is openly avowed, in one matter, amongst others, involving in itself so many nice and delicate points, as sufficiently to warrant a belief, that unless a forbearance of the measures adopted and encouraged in some of the States shall take place, the disunion of the others may be the consequence. This diversity of opinion owes its birth to the evil of slavery, which in most of the States is entirely prohibited, while in others it is fully tolerated.

In those States of the American Union which are denominated the Southern—*Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia*, slavery prevails ; and on this, those residing in them pertinaciously insist, depends their being or their destruction ; while their fellow citizens dwelling in the other States, not feeling the same necessity, or actuated by other motives, have become strenuous and unremitting advocates for a general emancipation.—The former have for some time viewed this with infinite regret, though their indignation

tion is now beginning to be roused at that policy which they consider as being levelled at their existence.*

Slavery, it may not be improper to mention here, as far as it extends to importations

* In alluding to the subject of *slavery*, which from the consequences as I thought connected with it, could not be considered foreign to my attempt, I am nevertheless anxious that it should be known, that my wishes are very far from being engaged in any share to perpetuate the bondage, or to add to the miseries of a singularly oppressed and unfortunate race of people. A situation in every shape, so truly pitiable in itself as to have brought on human nature no small or unmerited degree of reproach. With every one I revere the generous and feeling spirit that has actuated those who have so ardently interfered in behalf of the enslaved Africans.—They have done much, and not unsuccessfully; and while eager to express the high degree of admiration such virtues are entitled to claim, it cannot but be lamented that from some must be withheld, what, otherwise, it might be wished could be bestowed in common—who hurried away by too much earnestness in the cause, or too much enamoured with the end to regard the means, however violent or terrible, would inflict deeper wounds in the midst of an honest intention to close and heal the old.

It will unquestionably appear strange when we are acquainted, that amongst those in the United States who now so loudly deplore the sufferings of the negroes, and who are at present the most zealous for an amelioration of their state, will be found the chief part of the actual persons, to whom, in a primary degree, they are beholden
for

tions from Africa, is prohibited generally in the United States after the year 1808, by an act of Congress.

It must be observed also, that in addition to the act of Congress, which forbids the importation of slaves after 1808, the several States interested in such measure, had likewise previously passed acts in their distinct legislative capacities, prohibiting under severe penalties any importations of the same kind.

Of those States who have discovered a spirit of dissatisfaction towards the general

for their distress. As long as the traffic subsisted between America and the Coast of Guinea, the merchants who furnished the planters with slaves, were almost exclusively those of the northern parts of it, now comprehending what are called the Northern and Eastern States. The vessels employed in this trade were entirely owned by them, and fitted out from their ports. That it was a source of wealth to most engaged in it, will scarcely be disputed, when it is known that the greater part of those persons, are retired from business, and are living, in all probability, on the profits that have arisen from it.

And this hatred, now so vehemently displayed towards negro slavery in one quarter of the United States, has conspicuously increased, and the societies that have formed themselves for a total abolition of it, have astonishingly multiplied, *since* the non-importation laws I have spoken of were enacted.

govern-

government of the whole, Virginia once stood prominently forward; and her opinions could not be viewed, but with important regard from the rank which her extensive territory and numerous population entitled her to assume. The Legislature of this State, on the 21st of September, 1798, ordered certain resolutions *censuring* some measures adopted by the executive power of the Federal Government, as innovations on the Constitution, to be transmitted for the concurrence of the several States. On these resolutions, in the session of 1799, Virginia received the proceedings of some of the States which indicated no desire of co-operation; and that proved generally opposite to the views contemplated. This measure, embracing a variety of topics, was considered in the Legislature of Virginia, and not improperly, as a species of war declared against the Government; and the transmission of the resolutions in the way that was adopted, not ill calculated to effect a general combination for to support the hostility that had been thus commenced. And when it is known, that this State alone, sends twenty-one members to the

General

General Congress, the imputation laid to it of an attempt to promote a system of disorganization in the Federal Compact will hardly be removed. The leading pretext urged for the necessity of the above resolutions, was the unconstitutionality, as it was declared, of the passing in America of the *Alien and Sedition Acts*. The new States, *Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee*, inclined strongly to support the measures of their sister State. It is now believed that the Virginians will become more reconciled to the government, since the election of the President has proved in favour of Mr. *Jefferson*, to whom they look up with no ordinary degree of pride and expectation; and whose political opinions are known to be entirely coincident with those of the citizens of his native State, Virginia.

This it may be said is a solitary, though it cannot be called a slight example, and such as it may prove fortunate for the country, should the imitation of it not become more frequent or more general. Admitting that the separate State Legislatures possess an authority to judge of, or to control the acts of the general Legislatures,

where

where will an opportunity remain for uniformity of decision? If this were to be the case, endless diversities of opinion must prevail; the passions of the people must be continually embarked and distracted; and little foresight requisite to declare, that the Union must suddenly be dissolved. If each State Legislature possesses this extraordinary power, it at once takes away the power voluntarily conferred by the people collectively on their agents, their representatives in Congress; for the people certainly never vested in each separate branch any thing like what in this instance was attempted to be assumed. There are numbers in America, who believe that the country would not suffer the least encroachment on its liberties, if these State Legislatures were removed altogether.

The Federal Government, or first general compact of the American States, under one supreme ruling power, was suggested in the year 1787. In the month of September of the same year, the *Constitution* was agreed to by the *convention*. This *convention* consisted of persons deputed to represent the several States. It was not before the summer of 1789, that the ratification

cation of nine States could be obtained, and the *President* elected. Therefore it may be said, that the *Federal* system did not actually commence until this time, or early in the year 1790.

I shall now endeavour to furnish a summary view of the principal features which render this administration remarkable. At the time of its commencement, which is just above shewn, the shipping of the United States did not exceed *four hundred and fifty thousand tons*. In the beginning of 1800, it amounted to *nine hundred and thirty-nine thousand*.

In 1790 the exportation of foreign articles brought into the United States for re-exportation, did not amount to *two millions of dollars*.*—In 1800 it exceeded *thirty-nine millions*.—In 1790 the exports of domestic produce, the growth of these States, scarcely amounted to *fourteen millions of dollars*.—In 1800 the exports of this kind amounted to more than *thirty-one millions*.

The Federal administration in the year 1790 had transmitted to it from what was

* Whenever the dollar, the current specie of America, is spoken of, it must be considered as representing 4s. 8d. sterling.

denominated the *old confederation*, a debt of *seventy-six millions of dollars*, without revenue to discharge either principal or interest; this debt it must be observed, was incurred by the revolution, and large as it will appear, and almost beyond the ability of so infant a nation to provide for, had still been done—the interest was regularly paid; a considerable part of the principal discharged; and solid and permanent establishments formed, by which the interest would have been provided for, and the principal gradually extinguished, had no event have happened to disappoint the government in the end it contemplated.

Added to the above, the Federal administration became under the necessity of satisfying a debt incurred previous to the year 1800, for incidental claims arising under the old government; for what was due to foreign officers who had rendered their services to America, for certain parts of the unfunded debt, for pensions to invalid soldiers, for the erection and support of light-houses, for the fortification of ports and harbours, for making and preserving peace with the Indian tribes, for suppressing two insur-

c
rections

rections in the State of Pennsylvania, for redeeming American citizens from captivity in Algiers, and for making and preserving peace with this and the other Barbary powers, for establishing boundary lines between the United States, Spain, and Great Britain; and for carrying into effect treaties with the above nations, and for a general census taken of the inhabitants, amounting in the whole to the sum of *five millions nine hundred and thirty-nine thousand dollars*.

For the support of the civil government in its various branches and departments, from the time of its establishment, until the beginning of 1800, was required, *five millions two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars*. The war with the Indians; the military establishment; the purchase of arms and stores; and the additional preparations that were made by the United States to resist the attempts of the French Republic, cost together, *thirteen millions eighty-three thousand dollars*. Negotiating with foreign nations, including the missions to France, the extraordinary mission to Great Britain, and for the maintenance
of

of ministers abroad, cost America *seven hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars.*

If these demands appear great, as they certainly must, it will as evidently appear, that most of them are of a nature that no nation carrying on any thing like the intercourse of the United States could possibly avoid. And it may be added, if the Federal administration did incur the most considerable part of the above expence, it also at the same time, resorted to the most easy and judicious mode of providing for it, from the revenue growing out of the commerce of the country.

This administration has been stated as having begun its operations at the conclusion of the year 1789, or the beginning of 1790. It terminated on the 4th of March, 1801, a space of something more than eleven years.

The state of the revenue of the United States during this period, will perhaps afford the most satisfactory and conclusive proof of the increasing prosperity that has awaited them. The impost and tonnage duties, which comprehend the leading part of this, were laid on in the year 1789.

They

They were not advanced to any thing like their present rate until 1794. In 1794 some augmentations were made that produced considerable effect on the receipts of the American treasury; and in 1799 farther aids to the amount of about *nine hundred thousand dollars* were received. Taking the amount of these duties in 1795, when the first augmentation had existed long enough to produce their full effect, and comparing it with their product in 1800, when the force of the last augmentation had not been felt, it shews that they have increased from *five millions five hundred and eighty-eight thousand dollars*, their amount in 1795, to *eight millions eight hundred and forty-seven thousand*, which they yielded in 1800. Making full allowance for the increase of duty that took place in 1797, this discovers an increase of this revenue of *fifty per cent. in five years*, which is *ten per cent.* annual advance on the total amount of each year's product.

During the year 1799, this revenue suffered a considerable diminution from the depredations committed on the commerce of the American States, being more particularly

ticularly felt in that year ; and before the beneficial consequences resulting from the establishment of the navy had transpired. It therefore sunk from *seven millions four hundred thousand dollars*, the amount of what it produced in 1798, down to *six millions four hundred and thirty thousand*.

In 1800, when defensive measures were vigorously carrying on, the revenue again rose to *eight millions eight hundred thousand dollars*.

The revenue of America, the progress of which has been thus far detailed, has not been alone confined to the impost and tonnage duties : it has likewise extended to a duty arising from stamps ;* distilling ; postage of letters ; &c. &c. &c.

The growing commercial consequence of the United States is very forcibly demonstrated by the increase of revenue derived from postage. In 1797 it amounted

* It is remarkable in the enumeration, that a duty from stamps should so early have presented itself in the United States, for it must be recollected, that an attempt to enforce an act of this kind by the mother country, first conducted to the alienation and final dismemberment of the American Colonies.

to about *forty-six thousand dollars*; in 1798 to *fifty-seven thousand*; in 1799 to *thirty-six thousand*;* and in 1800 to *eighty thousand*! Previous to the year 1797, it is supposed the post-office did not produce, or ever exceed, *fifty-three thousand dollars*.

The entire revenue of 1801, the year in which the Federal system ended, was calculated would amount to *eleven millions three hundred thousand dollars*. But should it have increased during that year as it had done during the preceding years, would have added another million to the above; making in the whole, somewhat more than *twelve millions*. To this, may be still farther added, a surplusage remaining from the year before, of *two millions of dollars*; which gives a total sum of at least *fourteen millions*.

The various expences incidental to the civil department of the United States, from domestic and foreign establishments; the expence arising from the support of the army, navy, &c. &c.; with the interest growing out of the funded debt, amounted

* The depressed state of commerce in America during the above year, has been accounted for.

in 1801 to *eleven millions three hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars*. This sum, deducted from the amount of the revenue for the same year, leaves a balance of *two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand dollars*.

Exclusive of the interest on its debt, the total expence of the American government in all its relations, was estimated to require for the year last mentioned, *five millions five hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and ninety-five dollars*. It was expected, however, that this would prove considerably more than would be required, some reductions being to take place, that it became no longer necessary for the United States to support.

Upon the whole, from the foregoing statements, it will be strikingly evident, that the government of America, under its former rulers, was one of the few fortunate of the earth, whose means were equal, whatever they may be found hereafter, to have met and defrayed its immediate exigencies; and with perhaps, not the slightest or most unsubstantial assurances of their being found commensurate to the future,
if

if the change that has since taken place had not happened.

The extraordinary and energetic preparations made by the United States for defending themselves against the execution of the threats offered by the French Republic, forced the government to employ a surplus of revenue, that if it had not been demanded in this way, would have gone towards the extinguishment of the public debt. These efforts were so extensive as to occasion a new debt to be contracted of *six millions and an half* of dollars. No one can consider this debt to have been imprudently, or extravagantly entered into, when it was to purchase the safety of the country, and to preserve its boasted independence. With this sum, a navy was reared of thirty-nine vessels of different sizes and force, mounting near nine hundred guns, and manned with more than seven thousand seamen and marines ; considerable progress made in the forming of naval yards, docks, &c. &c. and large quantities of stores, arms, and ammunition purchased, allowing of appropriations also for the building of six seventy-four gun ships.

ships.* We must here pause, to afford us an opportunity of admiring the means, of whatever description they may have been, that could so suddenly advance a country from a state of weakness and almost infant imbecility, to so respectable a posture of strength and vigorous defence.

A slight allusion has been made to some of the probable causes which helped to accelerate the dissolution of the Federal system. Amongst those, one of the most prominent, and that proved of excellent use in promoting the views of the adverse party, was that affixing to the administration of Mr. Adams, an extravagant predilection for Great Britain, and a no less extravagant degree of antipathy towards the Republic of France. This was eagerly seized on and industriously propagated throughout the United States; nor were

* For the above statements, and for those connected with the revenue, I am indebted to various public communications; but I cannot omit particularly acknowledging, the almost *literal* aid I have received in some of the foregoing matters, to have been derived from the printed letter of Mr. *R. G. Harper*, late a member of Congress, addressed to his constituents, and dated Washington, March 5, 1801.

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the high charges of bribery and corruption omitted to be included in the accusation. With the one party, the conspicuous benefits that had resulted, and which promised to result, to America, from the continuance of a perfect understanding with Great Britain, might have pointed out the not entirely useless consequences flowing from some share of regard being extended towards it. Beyond an interested motive of this kind, now the ends of party have been attained, I believe none will attempt to carry the crimination. To the other party however, this was either not known, or not admitted, for in the enthusiastic fulness of their ardour towards France, every other sentiment or consideration seemed to be forgotten:—indeed with some, it went so far as to occasion them to forget their own country. What return this soon after experienced from France is sufficiently known.

The raising an army, and the establishment of a naval force, were measures that did not escape the severe animadversion of the Anti-federal party both in and out of Congress; and afforded opportunities for

for a considerable share of popular clamour. The one was declared, as likely to be turned into an engine of despotism and oppression against the States, as into one for their safety and defence. The other was pronounced useless, without it was intended that the United States should be embroiled in the wars and commotions of Europe. The enormous expence it would require for the support of such extensive establishments, and the impending prospect of heavy taxation to obtain funds for the purpose, at once decided the public mind on their inexpediency.—Popular opinion in America governs every thing, therefore in no instance can it be put aside or disregarded.

A standing army in a country situated like America, where each of its citizens capable of bearing arms is declared a soldier; and where every soldier is taught to understand, that it is not for conquest or dominion he takes up arms, but for the more meritorious and just causes of national defence and self preservation; to protect from harm and violation that with which his own happiness and interests are

so intimately combined, may not at the first view appear as being so absolutely needful; and if the remembrance of some striking facts were not before us, that existed during the American revolution, we might without hesitation concur with the enemies of a standing army in its condemnation. It is known, and will be acknowledged by all who served during the period just mentioned, that it was not until near the close of the unhappy contest, that the militia of the States displayed any thing like the discipline, spirit, or firmness inseparable from a good and well-appointed soldiery. I shall forbear going into what would be distant to my purpose, and that at this time could not be found to possess any interest—any part of the detail incident to the war to illustrate what I have advanced.—And should I be asked, as it has often been demanded before, how a rabble so composed and organized became in the end successful; I am not vain enough to believe any answer I could furnish would prove more satisfactory than those that have been already given on the subject. Or, perhaps, were I competent to produce

a more

a more complete one, I should reluctantly remove a veil which might discover situations that society could not now profit from; and that posterity will never have cause to lament, should they ever remain dark and obscured.

At the time the late army of the United States was raised, the situation of the country was far from being one that promised any thing like long tranquillity. The agitating scenes which were so continually changing on the great theatre of the rest of the world, could hardly afford an assurance to America that she was not destined to fill some part in the afflicting drama. France, from the conduct she displayed towards the American ministers, gave but slight grounds for presuming that her forbearance was long to continue; or that her intentions were, than they were afterwards more openly discovered to be, less than hostile. It is not unlikely, that the United States are under higher obligation to the great breadth of ocean that separates them from the former country, than to any other event for the tranquillity they have enjoyed.

By

By ordering the small number of regiments to be raised, the late *President* did, without going farther, it might have been considered, that it would give to the military system as it existed by the laws of the United States, an higher degree of tone and vigour; and that by disposing of these regiments through the several States, habits of duty and a knowlege of discipline might extend to the militia force, which otherwise, it could meet few or no opportunities of acquiring*.

The naval armament met with less opposition, though it did not want vast numbers who declared themselves violently against it. Excepting the sea-ports and mercantile towns, where the utility of this measure was more directly felt, this sentiment might be considered as being general. But when the acrimony of party spi-

* Of the state or appointment of the militia of the Northern States, I am not qualified to pass an opinion; but of those of the Southern, from personal acquaintance with the subject I am enabled speak, and cannot but pronounce their condition to be wretched—incapacity and inattention being too generally characteristics of the officers; insubordination and contempt of duty that of the men.

rit shall have subsided, Mr. *Adams* will, in all likelihood, have ample justice done him by his country for so judicious an act of his administration. He, at least, has the gratification of knowing, that the salutary effects of the American navy were as soon discovered as it became afloat: and by its putting an entire stop to the depredations committed against the commerce of the United States, an extraordinary increase of public benefit instantly accrued, and individual security became again as speedily restored. I cannot forbear remarking, that I am much inclined to believe, that this part of the late *President's* conduct, whatever odium it may have had affixed to it, by those who thought proper to differ in opinion with him, had nevertheless, a strong and influential bias in bringing about the treaty that has been recently ratified between America and the French republic.

The smallness of compensation annexed to the duties of office in the United States, is a circumstance that has occasioned much complaint; and though regarded by numbers as an extensive good, may at times

times prove experimentally an evil, and an impediment to the well-conducting of their public affairs ;—there is surely a medium between unnecessary profusion and ill-timed parsimony. In the State œconomics of the American government, the latter appears only to be understood.

The late administration feeling the oppressiveness connected with appointments which if accepted, though these were as frequently declined, that would betray individuals into heavy expence, and perhaps, take them from their homes, families, and occupations, had made this a particular object of its consideration. It had made the discovery, though not by any means a new one, that for to obtain men of talents and character to fill posts of honour and responsibility, some remuneration must be given ; more especially in a country, where there are but few persons of independent wealth ; and where most persons possessing qualities fitting for such situations, are industriously engaged in professional, agricultural, or commercial occupations. The endeavours of the Federal party in this behalf met with slender success. The cry
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of expence was instantly raised against them by their opponents; and generally proved an objection sufficiently weighty to restrain the end they contemplated. One of the most distinguished members of Congress, has well observed on this subject *. That this was a futile objection; and that to compensate liberally, and even handsomely, all the principal officers, would require an additional expence of perhaps *thirty thousand dollars* annually; which is less than a man without talents, in one of those offices, may waste or lose through mismanagement in a month.

As a preliminary part of my attempt, it might perhaps have been expected, that I should have pointed out what the principal features are of that government of which I have presumed to speak. I alone forbore from doing this from a conviction, that most of those into whose hands these pages may fall, are at least fully acquainted with all that is requisite to be known on the subject: and as it has been one which has long engaged a very general

* *Harper*, to whom I have before acknowledged my obligations.

share of interest, it must no less have been discovered, that the laws, institutions, customs, and manners of the States of America, bear in every fundamental and essential particular, the most forcible and evident resemblance to those of the country from whence they have been almost exclusively drawn. And, if the application would longer hold, we might, perhaps, at once say, that each distinguishing mark of the offspring, still bears in every part, the characteristic lineaments of the parent. Whilst in many other particulars the dissimilarity is no less forcibly apparent: indeed, with many at this period, that any thing in America should bear the remotest likeness to what prevails in great Britain of the same description, is by no means admired or thought a recommendatory quality. The present administration of justice, is therefore, amongst other things, objected to for retaining too much of the intricacy peculiar to the code of England from whence that of America has been derived. It has been loudly contended, that the nature of the government, and the simplicity of the tenure by which all property in the

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United States is held, do not demand so perplexed and multifarious a barrier for their defence.

The criminal code in some of the States, particularly in that of Pennsylvania, is far less sanguinary than most known in other countries. Crimes, even of the highest turpitude, having in this State, the punishment of death seldom assigned to them: and in this instance, humanity has certainly to exult, that in sparing the effusion of blood, the catalogue of offence has not been increased, but perhaps by resorting to means less afflicting to human nature, though not less exemplary, the peace and security of society has been rather enlarged than diminished.

A new and uniform system of jurisprudence more consonant to the spirit of the government, and better calculated to meet every purpose than that which at present is resorted to, has been contemplated, and may yet be instituted. A bankrupt law has been recently adopted, the want of which became a subject of very general complaint, and a great impediment in the way of commerce. The law for the relief of persons imprisoned for debt, in several
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of the States, deserves particular commendation. Any persons so confined, on giving up the whole of what they possess, by an inventory accompanied with an affidavit, made in open court as to the truth of the contents of their schedule, are at once liberated, and for ever discharged from those particular debts on which they may have been arrested. They are, however, not cleared from any debt which may be owing to such persons as have not proceeded at law against them. The justness of the pretensions to relief from the Act of Insolvency is openly weighed in the court, under the process of which the parties have been confined; liable at the same time, as in cases of ordinary trial, to meet the opposition of their creditors, if any thing like fraud or injustice be attempted.

Montesquieu has observed, that large republics are ruined by internal imperfections; yet he seems to insinuate, that the very excellence of government prevails in what he terms a confederate republic—a form greatly resembling that of the Union of the American States. It is perhaps the misfortune of such confederacies, never to be so firmly or perfectly united

united as when external violence or injury is offered towards them. The reliance that each member then places on the other, bespeaks a mutual confidence, that too frequently ceases to exist when the threatening dangers which gave birth to it cease longer to be known. We have seen that republics can alone continue, where as in America, they are composed of separate members, but by a lasting and indissoluble cement of the whole. The history of all, from those of Greece and of Rome, to the republics of the present day, has shewn, that their misfortunes, and declension have rather proceeded from some internal defects than from any external causes whatever. The politic Greeks, who lived under a popular government, knew no other support but virtue. The modern inhabitants of that country are entirely taken up with manufactures, commerce, finances, riches, and luxury. But whether the people of the United States of America, resemble the politic or the modern Greeks, it would not become me to determine.

With the commencement of the revolution of America the germs of division
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and party were implanted; and those baneful shoots have progressively extended their branches ever since: and whatever may have been received in Europe respecting the nature or existence of this in the American States, those well acquainted with them, can have little hesitation in declaring the same to be both intolerant and excessive. It is, however, remarkable, that from amongst those who were chiefly conspicuous for their deliberation and mildness at the epoch I have alluded to, should have been found many of the most energetic for adopting measures latterly, to ensure their country tranquillity at home, and respect from abroad.

So much has been said and written on the purity of the elective franchise of the United States, of the unbiassed freedom which characterises their elections, that it may be considered, any thing will not be readily received, which is calculated to affix venality or corruption on the candidates for office, or on those who hold the privilege of electing to them. A near view of this subject has too obviously demonstrated, that an higher share of merit
has

has been bestowed on this most important point than is justly belonging to it. The same arts, the same cunning, and the same low intrigue, that too frequently pollute and disgrace the sources of election in other countries, if not so openly carried on, or to equal extent in the American States, are far from being unknown to them.

Nor can any known governments be better fitted, or be found more perfectly adapted to promote the views of ambitious or designing men, than those of popular description. The voice of the people once obtained, in what manner may be considered immaterial, when their pretensions become immediately commensurate with the strength of it. This is the preparatory step and first aim of every one desirous of elevation in America. He enlists the majority to support his banner, and he advances onwards conscious, at least for a time, of being awaited by success. If this popular voice, it may at the same time be observed, were not as variable as experience has ever discovered it to be, how many evils and oppressions might not society be doomed to undergo from
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the vast opportunity it would furnish for the machinations of the wicked?

It is rather unfortunate, however, that the period of it is as frequently limited with the virtuous. Even the late WASHINGTON, the acknowledged friend and saviour of his country, and who at one time lived in the hearts of all; and against whom it would have been profane to have uttered any thing but respectful esteem and veneration, experienced, long before he sought retirement, the expiring gratitude of many of his fellow citizens.

The system so begun and so far pursued as alluded to in the preceding pages, has now given place to another, of which we can scarcely be allowed to speak with confident boldness until we shall become better acquainted with the exact conduct it means to adopt. From the principles and views of the party who espouse it, it may not be deemed presumptuous to conclude that it will be widely opposite: and from the declared hostility that has already shewn itself to most of the measures entered upon by the Federal party, there is but small assurance of the present administration

administration following, even distantly, any part of what has gone before it as the labour of its predecessors. Every vestige of this promises to be removed; and the genius of pure, uncontaminated republicanism, is to rise from the threatened liberties of this lately devoted land.

Should it nevertheless, be attended by an increase of public prosperity, or should no diminution of what the United States have so beneficially experienced under their former rulers be the consequence, they will not have to mourn that "the sun of Federalism has set for ever!" an exclamation of triumph which escaped from some on this great change. It cannot be called other than a *great change*, when the important and momentous nature of it to the country generally is contemplated.

I shall finish this part of my subject with a short remark on one of the last acts that took place during the administration of Mr. *Adams*; one, while it afforded an additional scope for the industry of his enemies, was somewhat difficult of explanation from his friends. This was, his sending a second mission to France after the solemn

solemn declaration he had made, never to do so until assurances should be first received that the embassy would be treated with dignity and respect. It certainly rendered his vigorous preparations for defence inconsistent, if at all events he was determined to supplicate for peace.

Forbearing to enter on a matter that would be found distant to my subject, and that is so generally known in Europe, the conduct of the Republic of France towards the first minister, then towards the envoys appointed on the part of America, I shall but observe, that the indignation of every honest mind was raised at the unprecedented usage these missions experienced. Little penetration or political skill was requisite to discover the contemptible arts that were resorted to for to compel the United States to embrace terms, which, had they been assented to, would have rendered them degraded in the opinion of the world to the end of their existence. In this, as in a variety of other instances, it was the misfortune of America in principle not to be united. Neither can it be denied, that however disgraceful the terms prescribed by the Directory may have been, there were

were still to be found Americans more disgraceful, who, without hesitation, would have subscribed to their own infamy, by assenting to the humiliation of their country. I have already shewn the conduct used on this occasion by the Federal administration, I need not again dwell on the result of it.

What may now be called the *popular* side of the government of the United States, is composed entirely of those who are the declared opponents of the Federal system. Every new election that has taken place since the change happened in the government has denoted the predominating influence of the principles of this party; and the struggles of Federalism, without it be in the cities or large towns of the United States, can be but weak and ineffectual, for throughout the country generally, or nearly so, the contrary opinion alone guides the mass of their citizens.

Thomas *Jefferson*, the leader of the Anti-Federal party, who now fills the high and important station of *President* of the United States of America, is a person so well known to all Europe, that I shall not attempt to draw a character, which
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has already had such ample justice done to it, both here and in the United States, by others so much more adequate to the subject. I therefore aspire to furnish no more than a concise outline of the above gentleman. Mr. *Jefferson* is unquestionably a man possessed of very considerable genius, and endowed with a copious share of powerful intellectual ability.—As a scholar, in a country where yet but few can assert any extraordinary pretensions to scholastic attainments, he is enabled to claim a distinguishing pre-eminence.—As a writer, the *Declaration of American Independence*, which is ascribed to him, discovers him to be master of much elegance.—As an historian, or author on subjects connected with natural history, the *Notes on Virginia* display considerable ingenuity and research, though perhaps rather indicating too fond a disposition for indulging in the minute theories of Nature, than for accuracy in delineating her actual operations.—As a politician, Mr. *Jefferson* is considered by many of his fellow citizens, as being more addicted to *speculative* than to *practical* plans of government; and his views in the science of legislation,

very

very generally deemed much too narrow and concentrated to advance the interests of a great commercial nation, like that over which he is called to preside. The aversion he has in most instances shewn to treaty and negociation, at least leads numbers to believe, that commercial concerns hold no conspicuous place in his consideration;* and the unbounded and enthusiastic predilection he has on all occasions discovered towards France, induces an equal number to imagine he is little solicitous of acquiring the regard of the rest of the world.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Mr. *Jefferson* entered on the duties of office. Many changes have already taken place, and more promise shortly to follow. The ministers to foreign nations, who received their appointments under the former ad-

* It is somewhat extraordinary this should not be otherwise. The largest and most valuable part of the United States depends almost solely on trade for its wealth and consequence. The Eastern States, which comprise a third of the American Union, are entirely situated in this way. A large proportion of their property consists in shipping, and the chief part of their citizens are merchants and seamen.

ministration,

ministration, have some of them been recalled: their number is to be reduced; and a plan it is said has been proposed by Mr. *Maddison*, Secretary of State, that suggests the division of foreign alliance into three departments, which are to comprehend Great Britain, France, and Spain: in each a minister is to reside, under whom Consuls and inferior agents are to be appointed, and to whom their communications are to be addressed.

A general reduction of expenditure is also to happen by abolishing a variety of offices. The civil establishment is to undergo an entire alteration in all its departments. The military is to be dismissed altogether. Most of the vessels of war have been called into port; a few frigates only are to be continued in the service, and the rest sold.—Thus in the United States may be found, and what in this age can be found in few other places, economy is the order of the day.

It may yet prove, that the administration of Mr. *Jefferson* will disappoint the variety of opinion which at present, conjecture so liberally furnishes respecting it.

Nor

Nor can it be consistently believed, that it will be so far wide as many have determined it will be found, of the enlarged practical systems of national polity, so wisely commenced, and so well understood by his predecessors, *WASHINGTON* and *Adams*; and which, while they add to the patriotic virtues of the first, contribute no less towards the distinguished reputation of the last. America has gained a name under the former; it must not be supposed, that she is to relinquish it, or to feel its value diminished under the guidance of the latter.

The election of the President of the United States is quadrennial, possessing the qualification of re-eligibility. A period much too lengthy in a bad or impotent administration; but that will ever be found of too short duration in a good and efficient one. Excepting what happened in the instance of the *late* General *WASHINGTON*, the growing state of party in America hardly seems to promise, that such re-elections of its first magistrate will again frequently occur.

And, since the people of the United States of America, have confessedly made
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one *experiment*, to borrow their own expression, in their government; I shall finish on this head with an admonition of Lord *Bacon*, it may serve them on some future, as it was far from being inapplicable to them on a late occasion. “It is good not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware, that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation.”*

The States of America deriving so much from the revenue growing out of their extensive commerce, the burthen of taxation on their citizens becomes from the above circumstance proportionably light. The tax on land, which forms the leading, and in several of the States, almost the only species of taxation, is inconsiderable indeed when brought into view with this burthen as felt in many of the older countries. In the States of the southward, negro slaves, also negroes, and people of colour, who enjoy their freedom, are objects of taxation; as are also monied capitals, professions, carriages, &c. &c.

A very considerable addition has lately accrued to the funds of the general treasury from the introduction of the duty arising from stamps; and which will without doubt afford an increasing revenue, as the country advances in commercial consequence.

Moderate, however, as the taxation of America may certainly be deemed, the sums assessed, are not in a variety of instances paid without loud dissatisfaction, and the aid of legal proceedings frequently found necessary to be resorted to for the enforcement of them. In some of the Northern States, the pressure of taxation occasions much complaint. There is yet more of this dissatisfaction displayed in the States that have been recently added to the American Union—Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In the States of North Carolina and Georgia, the taxes are more moderate than they are in the State of South Carolina. The importing of slaves from Africa into the last State, having been prohibited by laws of its own enacting for several years past, occasions many of the large landholders to exclaim

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against paying a duty for what they are deprived receiving any advantage from— negroes in their estimation being indispensably requisite to render their ground of any value. This policy has also occasioned great numbers of persons to remove out of South Carolina into Georgia, where the importing of slaves, until very lately, did not experience such restraints. The rapid advancement of the last mentioned State, has been altogether attributed to its having permitted the Guinea trade to remain so long open.

From the most accurate information it has appeared, that in many of the American States more acres of land are returned to the collectors of taxes than there are known to be contained within them: that this arises from those lands being so generally in a state of litigation; and the right of possessing them being essentially grounded on a definite length of time that the parties contending for them have regularly paid the incidental tax. In most of the States all taxable property is returned to the proper officer on the oath of the proprietor; and taxation in the
United

United States may be considered of two descriptions; one of which goes towards the support of the general government of the States collectively, the other for to defray their own separate and distinct expences.

The people of the United States thus moderately burthened by direct taxation, and their government deriving its principal aid and support from the revenue growing out of the extensive commerce of the country, it may not be altogether foreign to my subject to attempt to point out the principal source from which such considerable advantage flows. In this view, Great Britain stands most prominently forward. Her manufactures of every description present themselves every where throughout the United States; possessing the twofold quality, of furnishing most of their domestic wants, and forming in their commercial relations a leading and valuable part of their exports. As yet they have not been supplanted; nor have they yet met with any thing like competition. And the utility and superiority that British articles can so decidedly claim

over

those of the rest of the world, is uncontestably proved by the universal preference and reception they meet with. Theories may be raised ; innumerable speculations may be indulged ; but how few of either are found able to maintain their position when opposed by the strong and irresistible force of practical conviction?

The commercial relationship between Great Britain and the United States, is of a nature so highly interesting to both, that it should never be departed from : the attention of the ministers or leaders of both should ever be turned towards it. No systems of narrow, contracted policy, should for a moment be suffered to intervene, to shackle, impede, or diminish it in either ; as every one must be well persuaded, an opposite conduct, that is, one founded on a liberal, enlarged, and mutual basis, cannot be other than productive of advantages the most solid and lasting. Let this only be well known and understood, when who in Britain will have reason to deplore the dismemberment of this part of the British Empire, if Britain partakes of all, or greater benefits, than she

she could have done if it still had been retained in her possession? Who in America divested of aged resentments, or undeluded by modern prejudices, shall regret, that though America is thus necessarily obliged to contribute in some degree towards the advancement of the former nation, if at the same time, and from the same causes she is also conferring largely towards the opulence and grandeur of herself.

The commerce of the American States has disappointed most of the predictions that have been raised respecting it, and in direct contradiction to them all, yet chiefly subsists with Great Britain, or perhaps nearly altogether through its means.* For there are few in America hardy enough to deny, that the liberal spirit which so conspicuously denotes the trading part of the British community, and the extensive credit its wealth enables it to allow, that has principally forwarded the United States to the rank of commercial consequence which they are now enabled to claim. At

* The solidity and justness of the opinions of Lord *Sheffield* on this subject are now abundantly verified.

present, the appearance of the other parts of Europe does not promise to effect any sudden alteration in this respect, and if it be to take place, it cannot but happen at a remote period. And perhaps it may require farther demonstration than what has been obtained from the reasoning of *Brissot*, the *Duc de Liancourt*, and some other writers on the subject of American commerce; before what they have attempted to advance will be admitted; *that the only natural and really advantageous commercial connection must be that of America and France.* We might not be so distant from conviction, could we be persuaded, that *Rouen* was *Manchester*, or that *Vire* was *Leeds*.*

Previous to the Revolution of France, the trade of that country with the United States was far from being considerable; since this great change has taken place, it

* The indefatigable Mr. *Arthur Young* in his *Travels in France*, published in 1794, qu. 550, calls *Rouen* the *Manchester* of France.—At p. 525 of the same work, from an extract incorporated into it, we are told, that during the American war, the manufactures of cloths at *Vire* had an export to North America; but on the peace, the cloths of *Leeds* presented themselves with a victorious superiority. It must be remarked that this was taken from a work written by a Frenchman.

has been entirely destroyed. The profitable intercourse that America has enjoyed during the war with the French West India Islands, must be excepted ; though this has likewise been attended with considerable interruption and loss to many individuals, from the distracted state into which those Islands have been plunged. The regulations of the *Marishal de Castries*, which admitted Americans into the French West Indies, were considered to have greatly abridged the navigation of the mother country.—This is mentioned only for the purpose of bringing to view another circumstance. One of the most formidable objections to the late treaty between Great Britain and the United States arose on this very point. The States contended for the right of a free trade, or unlimited tonnage to the islands dependent on the former country. But if Great Britain were to suffer, as the example from France must strikingly have suggested in so important a branch of her own trade, blame or inconsistency surely must not be attached to that policy in a matter so closely allied to her own interest, and which it became her province

province first to consider.* In the British West Indies it is well known, the planters and merchants loudly exclaim to be heard

* The treaty with Great Britain was productive of much popular cavil; and much intemperate abuse was lavished on those who concluded it. The moment of its ratification was unpropitious. France by the brilliancy she had acquired from her numerous victories, had intoxicated the minds of the mass of the people of America; and in the fervour of their enthusiasm, they viewed any step that might convey the appearance of close intimacy and friendship with Great Britain, ingratitude and enmity towards the French Republic. By a great many it was therefore execrated as an entire evil, rather than being objected to for deficiency in any essential part. The more moderate, then considered, that the United States had ceded, and that Great Britain had gained too much by the negotiation. This opinion still prevails very generally in America.

To widen the original breach, and to revive and keep alive a spirit of animosity and rancour between Great Britain and the United States, will not appear an unnatural desire on the part of the rulers of France. Jealous that a predilection for the former country existed, and apprehensive that it would grow and strengthen as the consequences of original differences should wear away and be forgotten, we need to feel small surprise that such attempts should industriously have been made; but that such endeavours should in a great degree have proved abortive, will, it may be hoped, never occasion either country cause to regret.

on the other side of the question. It is the misfortune of all colonies after having been supported in infancy, and reared to maturity, to endure a share of oppression from the parent country, and their productions considered as its just monopoly : the only reason offered for this is, that such are considered the price they owe for protection.*

* The tonnage of America has astonishingly increased, (see page 9) while that of most other commercial nations, particularly Great Britain, has diminished. The neutrality the former has been able to preserve may be assigned as one leading cause of this ; but were the United States to obtain that footing in the British West India Islands they have shewn themselves desirous of, it would at once open a new channel for the disposal of the produce of these islands, and greatly abridge, if not entirely divert, so material a branch of the trade of the mother country. And had Great Britain acceded to the wishes of the Americans by allowing them what they sought for in this respect, it would instantly have defeated the many wise and salutary regulations, at various times passed, strengthening and confirming that important act to which she is indebted for her present commercial and maritime greatness, the act of 1651.

The extraordinary privileges the Americans enjoy in their intercourse with the East Indies, will also it may be presumed, be shortly felt by Great Britain. The Company having extended to them indulgencies in trade which British subjects do not possess.

Professing

Professing as I do only to draw sketches, and not to paint a regular and finished picture, I must claim indulgence for the irregular touches of my pencil. Mr. *Young*, whom I have before quoted, and whose pages will ever be found abundant in profitable information, informs us, that when he was in France, at Nantes, 1788, he was assured the linen fabric of Bretagne, amounted to 24 millions (*livres*) of which St. Maloes exported considerable quantities. On inquiring if any of those exports were to the American States, he was answered in the negative. In one article, and by no means an inconsiderable one, this then will furnish some small idea of the state of commerce between France and America previous to the revolution of the former. If it were so inconsiderable then, what must it have been since, when the manufactures of France have scarcely been found sufficient to supply its domestic necessities, and commerce of every kind entirely prostrate. Without presuming to prescribe limits to the energies of the French republic, the imputation of rashness may still possibly be escaped, in determining that the period will be distant before that country shall resume even the share

share of consequence she enjoyed as a trading nation previous to the change happening in her government, burthened as commerce then was, by restrictions impolitic and unwise. Should even this be suddenly attained, it will be much, but should it shortly be exceeded, it will greatly contradict expectation. Manufactures do not rise with the rapidity of volition ; and commerce can alone be supported by extensive capitals or by an equal share of public credit.

And much as this close alliance has been insisted on between the United States and the republic of France, for it is no less a favoured theme in America, I must openly confess, that I have not yet been able to discover any satisfactory or conclusive reason, why this relationship should be cemented with France any more than with any other country, where the advantages resulting from such connection would as slightly preponderate to occasion it.

From manufactures the States of America are not entitled to assume any notice ; indeed they have never been contemplated as profitable appendages to any of them ; and still more discouraging opinions concerning

cerning their usefulness or their introduction, have been expressed by the present administration. The northern parts of the Union have made some attempts in this way, but they are of very inconsiderable and feeble description: and what they are able to manufacture, is in every shape so far inferior, and yet so much more expensive than what can be imported, that it is not likely they can suddenly attain any successful eminence. The Southern States are entirely without manufactures of any kind, with the exception of an iron foundery, the business of which is carried on to some extent*. Agriculture, without it be in the cities or sea-ports, is at present the leading occupation of the people of the United States; and which will hardly give place to any other, while land

* By those acquainted with the Southern States, I might possibly be charged with inaccuracy, were I to omit mentioning a sort of domestic manufacture that is made in the back country, or upper parts of them. It is of cotton, usually formed into articles of wearing apparel, considered very light and durable, and has the name of *homespun*; it may be added, that it is exceedingly dear.

can

can be obtained abundant, fertile, and cheap: and as long as the labour of cultivation shall continue to be rewarded with an extraordinary share of profit to the cultivator.

The above, are not perhaps the weakest reasons for presuming, that avocations so profitably followed, and at this time which seem alone fitted to the country, will not readily be exchanged for others, in which to ensure any thing like success, large capitals must necessarily be employed; and where even the ultimate prospect of success is often clouded with impending risk, and not seldom terminating in ruin and disappointment.

Though far from being a manufacturing country, America, if I may be allowed the expression, is a mine of materials of infinite and unknown variety; and from a space so extensive, comprehending so vast a diversity of climate and soil, how many veins rich and exhaustless remain yet to be explored? *

And

* To give an instance forcibly illustrative of this—
It was not until within the last five or six years that it became

And now to Great Britain, how obviously interesting must the above appear? whose ingenuity and whose industry, may long promise to receive from stores so ample, an abundant supply of innumerable articles calculated for the exercise of both. It should not be forgotten in the United States along with this, that an eager and ready market will from the like causes, at most times present itself for the disposal of what they are capable of producing. If any argument can proclaim loudly for a lasting good understanding between the countries, I am vain enough to believe it must in some degree arise from what is here attempted to be advanced: and where a reciprocity of advantage so considerable must naturally result, it would be something more than weakness or the

came generally understood by the planters of the three Southern States, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, that the greater part of their lands, would be found perfectly adapted to the culture of the *cotton plant*. Since this has been learned, this branch of cultivation, has in a primary degree supplanted every other: and the article of *cotton*, promises shortly to become, if it be not already, their staple production. Before the introduction of this, *rice* claimed the pre-eminence,
want

want of common prudence in either, not to conform strenuously in every proper and consistent act, to preserve and to perpetuate a continuation of it.

From what I have ventured to advance in the early part of these sketches, it may be collected, a belief is entertained, that too great a degree of relaxation in the administration of the laws and government of the United States, may not be found productive of the end desired; and that by throwing too great a degree of force into the popular scale, the equilibrium of the balance may be for ever destroyed. A refractory disposition having already twice shewn itself in direct opposition to the constituted authorities of the government in one of the States, which threatened from the numbers engaged in it, and the menacing aspect it assumed, to endanger in an alarming degree the general harmony of the country, may lead us to conclude, that any forbearance in enforcing due obedience to the laws, by trusting to the virtue or patriotism of the multitude, will be as distant of success in the Republic of America, as in any other republic or monarchy
of

of the earth.* If conjecture might be hazarded, we should perhaps say it would answer less ; especially when it is known, that a very considerable part of the people of the United States are drawn from foreign shores, who invited by more flattering prospects than they could discover in their own countries, will at times besmitten with a thousand recollections of the places and institutions they left behind them; and if disappointed here, all or many of those recollections will suggest something comparatively defective, or below what they were taught to expect. Whoever is at all acquainted with the American States, must have found prodigious numbers of the latter description, who had been principally induced to emigrate from the heightened and alluring colours in which the nature and benefits to accrue from an establishment within them had been painted. And indeed so plausible and specious have most of such offers appeared ; so overpowering and irresistible the great advantages pro-

* The suppression of the two insurrections in Pennsylvania, cost the United States *one million six hundred and eighty-two thousand dollars.*

mised to await the emigrant, that it can excite but small astonishment that there should have been so many eager to abandon their own land in search of this Land of Promise. Whether an accession of happiness, or an increase of misfortune and difficulty, has in numberless instances been the result of this undertaking, I believe might be easily determined.

America, arduous as she is to extend her population, must extend it in a great measure by the emigrations of foreigners ; amongst whom, a very large proportion from every country, will be found to comprise, the vicious, the idle, and the discontented ;—the honest, the industrious, and the oppressed, of whatever nation, I entirely omit : the value of such is an high and inestimable treasure to any country. But whether out of the classes I have first named, will be produced better citizens in the United States, than they had made in the countries from whence they emigrated, will surely appear improbable and full of doubt. Without the aid of such supplies, it has already appeared in the American States, that there are too many, who seem

hold in the most absolute contempt every shape and species of subordination and government; and who either affect to despise, or are really insensible of the indispensable utility and salutary consequences of laws.*

The population of the United States is now estimated at somewhat more than five millions. This number of persons is dispersed over a space of country extending to nearly sixteen degrees of latitude on the sea coast, between the degrees of thirty-

* This charge is perhaps more directly applicable to those inhabiting the States which have been recently added to the American Union—*Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee*; though without injustice, it may be also applied to a great proportion of those who are settled in the *upper or back parts* of the States collectively. The States I have above named, have been chiefly populated by emigrations from their sister States, and by very considerable supplies of people latterly from Ireland. Of those persons who have sought a residence within the new States from other parts of the American Union, several have been known to return to their former situations, not dissatisfied with regard to the fertility of their soil or the natural advantages connected with them; of both, very flattering concurrence of opinion generally prevailing; but rather disappointed at the state in which they found society, and disapproving the habits and manners of the mass of their citizens.

one and forty-seven: in length, one thousand two hundred and fifty miles; and in breadth, one thousand and forty; and comprehending within the whole, five hundred and eighty-nine millions of acres of ground. From the above calculations it would appear, that a considerable time must elapse before the population of it could in any way become so far numerous as to render the inhabitants at all in the way of each other. This however, has been latterly denied; and a writer who has recently taken a view of this subject,* fixing the increase on regular and progressive *data*, observes—"That in 1791, the population of America was numbered at four millions; in twenty-four years, it will amount to eight millions; in forty years, to sixteen millions; in sixty years to thirty-two millions; in eighty years, to sixty-four millions; and eighty-five years, to eighty millions." Mr. *Jefferson*, in his *Notes on Virginia*, is also alike sanguine on a rapid and extraordinary increase of population in the United States. The Abbé *Ray-*

* The *Duc de Liancourt*.—Travels in the United States of North America, octavo, vol. 4. p. 540.

nal falls far below them both ; he says—
 “ If ever ten millions of men find a certain subsistence in the American provinces, it will be much.” Perhaps the opinions of the Abbé *Raynal* on this subject, may not now be deemed entitled to hold the estimation they did, previous to the provinces he speaks of undergoing the great political change which they have since done.—An event, had he been at all aware of it, that would in all likelihood have produced some difference of sentiment; and the predominating influence of which, it may be presumed, would not have escaped his acknowledged sagacity, and superior philosophical penetration.

Should the calculation however of the latter be no longer admitted on this point, there are some reasons for believing that those of the former, are much too indefinite and conjectural; and various causes which may occur to retard an increase of people like what they have spoken of.—Of these, the single one of climate cannot be viewed as being likely to bear the least considerable sway. A large proportion of the United States, from the most accurate inquiries, is
 certainly

certainly less healthful than most of the countries of Europe. If the most salubrious parts within them approach near those countries in this respect, it is the whole they possibly may be allowed to claim. But between the Northern and Southern States, the difference of climate is astonishingly great; and is a calamity that in the latter is severely felt, and an inconvenience that proves greatly in the way of their advancement. From Virginia, even this State is not entirely to be exempted, the country becomes pregnant with disease; and in the three States to the southward of it, the Carolinas and Georgia, health cannot be said to be enjoyed but in a very limited degree. The people inhabiting the mountainous, or upper parts of these States, are less subject to disease than those who reside on the swamps or marshes of them; for most destructive, and fatal indeed, are the last places to the human constitution.

Many of the natives who live in the lower parts of the Southern States, pertinaciously insist on the salubrity of the air, and wholesomeness of the climate of their
upper

upper country. Comparatively viewed, they perhaps may be entitled to some distinction, though I believe, few will be found situated in either, whose squalid countenances and emaciated forms, do not too conspicuously discover the repeated conflicts they must have had with the baneful concomitant of both—the *fall-fever*. In these States, this is the emphatic, and almost the exclusive name, by which disease is denominated.

The above may be considered as one reason for determining, that the increase of population, at least in the States last named, will not advance with the same rapidity as in the Northern. Emigration, from like causes, must to them be less frequent, as the end to be attained from it, will from so discouraging an obstacle, be in a great degree defeated.

In the cities or large towns that are situated near the sea, as Charleston, South Carolina; Wilmington, North Carolina; &c. &c. this periodical, or *autumnal* fever, is not known, as it is in the country immediately contiguous to them. The city of Savannah, in Georgia, is not particularly

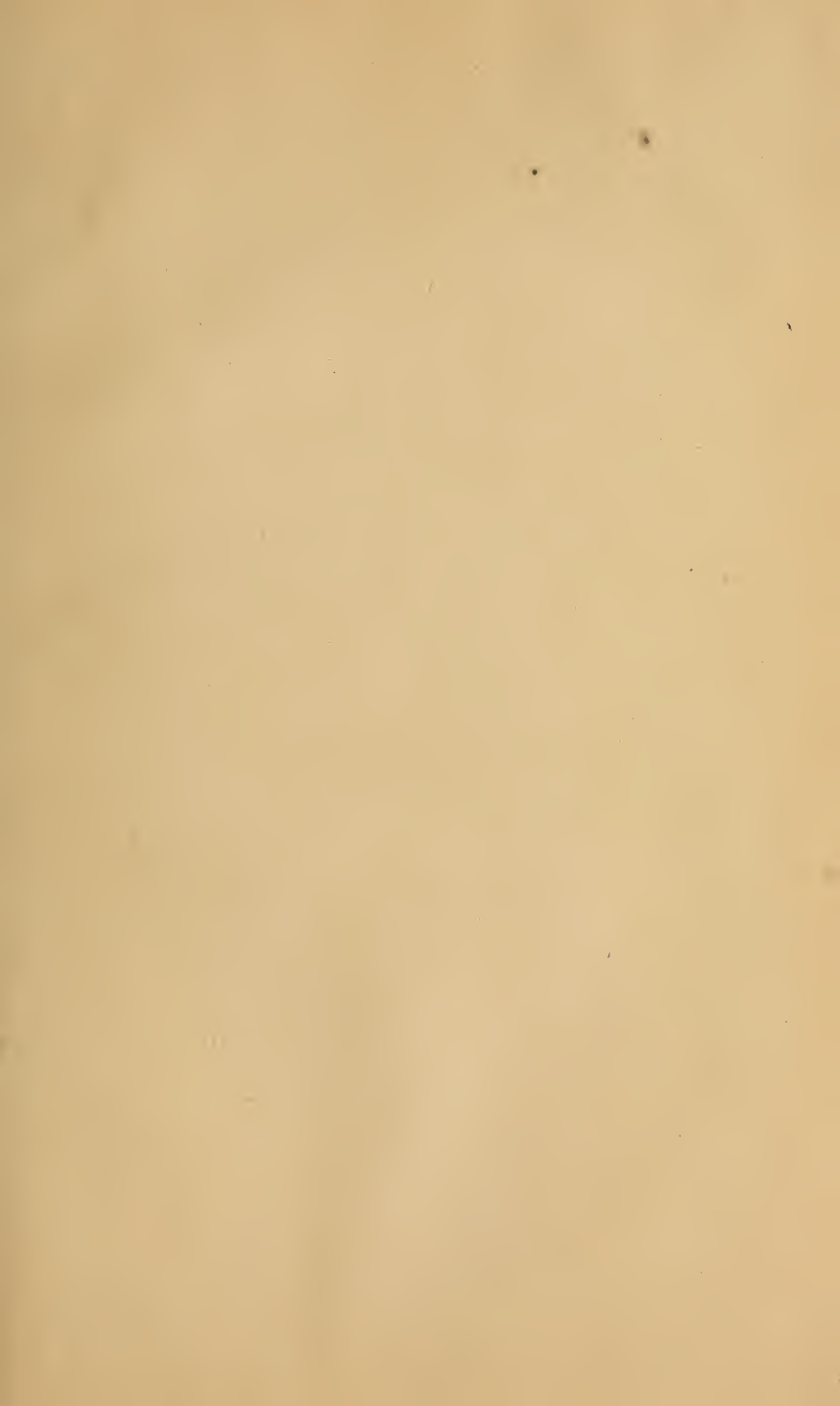
larly unhealthful, although it is removed some miles from the sea. But the fever which has made such melancholy and dreadful ravages for some years past in the first city, has proved far more deplorable in its consequences, than the malady of which I have just spoken.

The islands on the sea near the coast, are but slightly effected by the *fall-fever*. What yet appears extraordinary, and seems to determine the locality of disease in the States I am now dwelling on, is, that the Floridas, which are some degrees farther to the south, and infinitely hotter, are nevertheless very generally considered as being less liable to complaint. The *fall-fever*, partially known in Virginia, rarely extends beyond the neighbourhood of its rivers.

It is a belief very generally entertained, that what is called the *lower* country of the Carolinas and Georgia, would in very few years be altogether depopulated, were it not for the supplies of people they occasionally receive by emigrations from Europe, and from the other States.

The first of these is the fact that the
 world is not a uniform whole, but is
 made up of many different parts, each
 with its own characteristics and laws.
 This is true of the physical world, as
 well as of the human world. The
 physical world is made up of many
 different kinds of matter, each with
 its own properties and laws. The
 human world is made up of many
 different kinds of people, each with
 its own characteristics and laws.
 This is true of the physical world, as
 well as of the human world. The
 physical world is made up of many
 different kinds of matter, each with
 its own properties and laws. The
 human world is made up of many
 different kinds of people, each with
 its own characteristics and laws.

The second of these is the fact that the
 world is not a static whole, but is
 constantly changing and developing.
 This is true of the physical world, as
 well as of the human world. The
 physical world is constantly changing
 and developing, as new matter is
 created and old matter is destroyed.
 The human world is constantly changing
 and developing, as new people are
 born and old people die.







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